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ABSTRACT

As a part of the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education, this document describes the town of Eagle Butte, South Dakota, on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation approximately 100 years after the signing of the 1868 Treaty with the Sioux. A 3-member research team collected data via interviews with students, parents, teachers, administrators, and influential persons. Historical background, physical features, tribal government, economic and employment opportunities, and community action programs are discussed, as are housing, health, social services, and recreation. Aspects of education related to the administration, teachers, students, curriculum, physical facilities, relations with parents and community, and adult education are explored. Maps and tables pertinent to the reservation are included. (AN)

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

PROJECT OEC-0-8-080147-2805

FINAL REPORT

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Community Background Reports

Series I

No. 6 The Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation

South Dakota

Wolfgang Mueller
University of Colorado
December, 1969

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NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

The attached paper is one of a number which make up the Final Report of the National Study of American Indian Education.

This Study was conducted in 1968-69-70 with the aid of a grant from the United States Office of Education, OEC-0-8-080147-2805.

The Final Report consists of five Series of Papers:

I. Community Backgrounds of Education in the Communities Which Have Been Studied.

II. The Education of Indians in Urban Centers.

III. Assorted Papers on Indian Education--mainly technical papers of a research nature.

IV. The Education of American Indians--Substantive Papers.

V. A Survey of the Education of American Indians

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PREFACE

This paper presents a community description of the town of Eagle Butte, South Dakota, on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation approximately 100 years after the signing of the 1868 Treaty with the Sioux. Of major interest will be the operation of the school in its community setting.

Some of the comments are meant to be fairly broad in scope. Some statistics deal with the entire state of South Dakota and could have been included in the community descriptions of St. Francis and Mission in the Rosebud area just as legitimately. The state-wide statistics may give some indication of the socio-economic situation surrounding the town of Eagle Butte and the Cheyenne River Reservation. In some cases only the broader perspective can be given because no specific percentages relating only to the Cheyenne River Reservation are available.

The research has been funded by the National Study of American Indian Education through the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. The author was one of a team of three researchers who spent three weeks in December 1968 at Eagle Butte interviewing students, parents, teachers, administrators, and influential persons. An additional week in May 1969 was used to administer the last of a battery of instruments used mainly for statistical purposes. The final data were collected during a third visit lasting three weeks in October and November of 1969. Much of the information in this community description is of a qualitative nature and was gathered during this last period. The author has spent a total of seven weeks in the community.

I. The Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, South Dakota

Historical Background

The 1868 Treaty with the Sioux assured the Sioux Nation of ownership of an area exceeding that portion of the current State of South Dakota west of the Missouri River. The area extended to the Cannonball River in the north, the Niobrara River in the south, and the 104th meridian in the west. Also granted were exclusive use rights, barred to white settlement, to a large part of the current area of Nebraska extending to the Platte River. The administration of this area was carried out from Fort Bennett, ten miles south of the Cheyenne River along the Missouri. This agency started administration of the Great Sioux Reservation in 1869.

The 1868 Treaty also made provision for education:

> In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations (farming homesteads), and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.[1]

In 1874 gold was discovered in the Black Hills in the western part of Sioux territory. An attempt by a special government commission to secure Indian signatures to an agreement ceding the Black Hills, where whites had settled, as well as the exclusive use area, ended in failure. Only a small percentage of signatures of the desired three-fourths of all those eligible to consent was collected. Congress, nonetheless, passed the unratified agreement in 1877, thus alienating the Black Hills and much of today's Nebraska from the Sioux.

Twelve years later in 1889 the area between the Bad and White Rivers, comprising some 9,400,000 acres was ceded by the Sioux. Until this time no separate reservation existed at Cheyenne River. For administrative purposes the Great Sioux Reservation was now subdivided into seven smaller reservations. One of these is the Cheyenne River Reservation named after the river forming its southern boundary. The old boundary along the Missouri remained unchanged. In the west and north, respectively, the 102nd meridian and its intersection with an east-west line originating ten miles north of the confluence of the Moreau

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[1]Article 7, Treaty with the Sioux, 1868.

River with the Missouri marked the limits of the new reservation. These boundaries circumscribe an area of 2,804,090 acres (Map 1). The administrative headquarters were relocated from Fort Bennett to Cheyenne Agency in 1891 where they remained until 1959.

The pattern of shrinking land resources was to continue.

> An Act of Congress on May 29, 1908 again opened up a large portion of the Reservation for homestead entries. This brought railroads to the West River country, bridges spanned the rivers and towns were established. The organization of the two counties of Dewey and Ziebach wholly contained in the Reservation was accomplished. . . Drought and grasshopper infestation during the thirties forced many members of the tribe to sell their allotted lands and to use the funds for livelihood.[1]

Since the rising water of the Oahe Reservoir would also flood the site of the Cheyenne Agency, a new location for the Tribal and Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters had to be found. Among others, the following towns were at one time considered for relocation of the headquarters: Timber Lake (county seat of Dewey County), Dupree (county seat of Ziebach County), Marston, and Eagle Butte. Businessmen in Mobridge, traditionally one of the trade centers, were interested in keeping the agency close to the reservoir in order to insure continued trade. Tribal officials, making the final selection, chose Eagle Butte. Most of the residents of Eagle Butte, which is located on the Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad and is close to U. S. Highway 212, favored relocation of agency headquarters to their community. To make the selection of Eagle Butte more attractive the town guaranteed adequate water supply.

Before the relocation Eagle Butte was a predominantly white community of 375 (1958) persons while Cheyenne Agency consisted of Bureau of Indian Affairs and Tribal headquarters, a BIA boarding school attended by 300 students, a store, post office, and a hospital staffed by one, sometimes two physicians. No town was associated with the compound. The total population of Cheyenne Agency was 600 in 1958.

When the Bureau and Tribal facilities were moved in 1959 and 1960, Eagle Butte had only two stores and two cafes. There are many stores now, including some tribal enterprises, as well as four cafes. The town population has increased from some 400 inhabitants to an estimated 2,000, counting the 400 BIA dormitory students. Community residents perceive the ethnic composition to have changed from largely white to about 75 percent Indian. Bureau of Indian Affairs agency headquarters statistics indicate the percentage of Indians to be about 54 percent (see Appendix).

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[1] Frank Ducheneaux, The Peace Treaty of Fort Laramie, April 29, 1868, Eagle Butte, S. D., mimeo., 1968, p. 19.

MONTANA

NORTH DAKOTA

Duluth

Bismarck

MINNESOTA

Standing Rock
Reservation

Sisseton
Reservation

Cheyenne River
Reservation

Oahe
Reservoir

Minneapolis-St.Paul

SOUTH DAKOTA

WYOMING

Pierre

Rapid City

Lower
Brule Res

Crow Creek
Res.

Pine Ridge
Reserv.

Rosebud
Reservation

Yankton
Reservation

IOWA

Sioux City

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Lincoln

COLORADO

Denver

Map 1: INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

Physical Features

As stated before, the original Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation comprised slightly less than 3,000,000 acres. In 1939 a tribal resolution established the policy of reconsolidating tribal holdings in a diminished area of approximately half that size. The area no longer in tribal possession is almost exclusively flat land suitable for agriculture. The plain between the Moreau and Cheyenne Rivers in the western half of the reservation as well as a broad strip of plain to the north of the Moreau River were thus lost. Tribal land today is concentrated along the 'breaks' of the Moreau River, Cheyenne River and includes the more rolling eastern portion of the reservation.

Approximately 90 percent of the land within the reconsolidated area is tribal land in that it belongs to the tribe itself or has been allotted to individual tribal members. The method of reverting non-tribal land to tribal ownership is by means of trading tribal land outside the reconsolidation area for tribal land inside the boundary. Once an individual has acquired land outside the boundary he is not restricted by tribal policy as to its disposal. At this time the tribe does not have funds to buy all the land offered for sale. Some 220 cases are awaiting settlement. Some funds for reconsolidation will be derived from a $1,300,000 claim against the Bureau for mismanagement of funds. At the earliest these funds would be available in the fall of 1970. From this point on, when referring to the Cheyenne River Reservation, the reconsolidated area will be meant unless otherwise stated (Map 2).

Most of the reservation is grassland, the portions more suitable to agriculture having been lost through homesteading, railroad grants, innundation, and sale of individual allotted holdings. Only about 20,000 acres are under cultivation. The principal crops are wheat, oats, corn and some alfalfa. Due to the scarcity of water--derived from deep wells--very little land, far short of the 39,000 acres suitable is irrigated.

The average July temperature is 75 degrees; the average for January is 16 degrees Fahrenheit. The average yearly period of frost-free conditions is 131 days. Prevailing winds heighten the seasonal temperature differential. Wind direction is north to northwest in the winter and south to southeast in the summer. During the day wind velocities can be unpleasant. Nights are generally calm.

The 18 inches of mean annual precipitation is sufficient to support the grassland typical of the short grass plains. There are junipers, ash and cottonwoods along the rivers and streams. These stands are unsuitable for commercial exploitation. The soil is a deep clay, called gumbo, which produces a good covering of the following cool season grasses: western wheat grass, green needle grass and prairie sand reed grass as well as these warm season grasses: little blue stem and blue gramma.

RECONSOLIDATED
AREA OF THE
CHEYENNE RIVER
SIOUX RESERVATION

OFFICIAL MAP
CHEYENNE RIVER INDIAN RESERVATION
DEWEY & ZIEBACH COUNTIES, S. DAK.

Map 2

Tribal Government

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 resulted in the composition of a tribal constitution and bylaws which was ratified in December of 1935. The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council, the legal governing body on the reservation, is composed of:

1. a tribal chairman elected at large from the reservation through a process including a primary election to select two major candidates and a general election to select the one acquiring the greatest plurality from the two selected at the primary,

2. councilmen representing the thirteen districts and elected by the district residents,

3. a vice-chairman elected by the tribal council members,

4. a treasurer and a secretary elected by the tribe at large.

The number of councilmen is stable at 15. Districts are subject to reapportionment. There are 13 districts, each represented by one councilman, only district numbers 4 and 5 (East Eagle Butte and Red Scaffold) have two representatives. All elected officials serve a four-year term of office.

In addition to having at least one representative in the form of a councilman each district has a district committee headed by a chairman. District committee. . ."pursue semi-official administration of community affairs, including the preparation and submission of resolutions of desire to the reservation tribal council."[1]

The tribe operates its own law enforcement agency and system of courts. Only when one of the 11 major crimes is committed will state and federal agencies intervene. Administratively the tribal police force is under the Law and Order Committee as well as the Executive Committee of the tribal council.

The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Police consists of six police officers, two full-time radio operators, one jailor and one matron. All tribal employees must be enrolled members of the tribe. The tribal police has jurisdiction over any Indian on the reservation (Dewey and Ziebach counties) regardless of tribal affiliation. The police officers operate individually, not in pairs.

In addition to the tribal police there are several other law enforcement agencies on the reservation:

1. County Sheriffs (Dewey and Ziebach counties),

2. State Highway Patrol,

3. Eagle Butte City Police (mutually cross-deputized with the Tribal police),

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[1]Mizen, 1966, p. 2.

4. BIA Special Investigator (who has jurisdiction in the event of one of the 11 major crimes being committed).

Cooperation among the law enforcement agencies is very good. Jurisdictional problems are worked out after apprehension of criminals.

Infractions of the law committed by Indians are prosecuted in the tribal court. The tribal code is administered by junior and senior judges selected by the tribal council. The tribal court is not a court of record, i.e., its verdicts are not recognized in state and federal courts.

Economy

Cattle-Ranching

Cattle ranching is the major economic opportunity extant on the reservation today.[1] In 1968 over 46,000 cattle were grazed on reservation land. This number was distributed among more than 180 Indian ranchers as well as 52 non-Indian ranchers.[2] Since the average carrying capacity is 35 acres per cow per year and 3 acres per cow per month, extensive range must be available for families to gain a livelihood. Although the exact number of other animals is not known, estimates place the number of horses on the reservation at 8,000 in addition to 2,000 sheep.

The tribe maintains several cattle programs. A tribal beef herd has been established to demonstrate better ways of ranching and conservation. It teaches improved breeding and range management. The herd consists of approximately 200 head. The Rehabilitation Cattle Program was established in 1956 by P. L. 776 and restricts eligibility to reservation residents. In part, the program was an effort to reestablish cattle operators who were being drowned out by the rising waters of the Oahe Reservoir. The program loans $10,000 and 100 head of cattle. The cash is to be repaid in yearly installments while the cattle are to be repaid in kind. At the time of the program's creation a herd of 100 head was considered of sufficient size to support a family. This is no longer the case and participants use the program to supplement income. Now 250-300 head are necessary for economic viability. Since the grazing area has remained finite, actually decreased through flooding, and since a considerably larger number of cattle are necessary now to make a living, the reservation has actually decreased in its capacity to support cattle operators.

The termination date for the program is February, 1976 and it is no longer as active as previously since not enough time remains to repay large loans. In general the program is considered a success although it has subjected many operators to repossession due to their poor management. "Up to October 1966, 232 tribal members have participated in the cattle program, with 140 of them in operation at the time of this document. 36 members have paid off their original

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[1] Mamie L. Mizen, Federal Facilities for Indians, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 3.

[2] Personal communication from Hal Rogers of the BIA, October, 1969.

loans entirely and are now obtaining their financing through private lending agencies and other government programs."[1]

Employment Opportunities

It has been shown that the reservation offers a livelihood in the form of cattle ranching to a limited number of persons. In addition to this the support capacity of range land has actually been decreasing. This situation is typical for the entire state of South Dakota. State estimates are that the long downward trend in agricultural employment will continue over the next two years and that the total unemployment will be determined by the large number of youth entering the labor force during the period.[2] Since reservation counties also have the biggest ratio of persons under eighteen (the ten counties averaged over forty-five percent under age eighteen), it follows that the reservations will be faced with the most serious unemployment problems:

> From the reservation (Dewey and Ziebach Counties) in 1965 of 3,748 resident members of the tribe, approximately 2,315 were between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four, and of these an estimated 1,220 males and 111 females were available for employment. . . It has been estimated that the general unemployment ratio on the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation exceeds seventy-five percent due to the limited employment opportunities.[3]

Thus it is evident that non land-based sources of income are extremely important. Among these are the Community Action Programs which not only provide employment but also services and training.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs 1969 Labor Survey indicates that the number of tribal resident members is still increasing. The total reservation population including Indians and non-Indians is given as 7,752 persons. Of the total tribal enrollment of 6,133 members 4,200, or 68.5%, reside on the reservation.

One of the ways of providing employment has been through the BIA Employment Assistance Service. This service provides training and placement away from the reservation. Relocation off-reservation does not appeal to many tribal members, however. I was repeatedly told that people do not like to leave home. This is also evidenced by the comparatively high percentage of tribal members residing on the reservation. The number of units and the number of persons who have made use of Employment Assistance in the last two years is shown in Table 1.

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[1] History of the Cheyenne River Reservation, Eagle Butte, S. D., mimeo., n.d., p. 4.

[2] South Dakota Manpower Coordinating Committee, South Dakota Cooperative Manpower Plan, Fiscal Year 1969, 1968.

[3] Mizen, op. cit., p. 3.

TABLE 1

EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

Fiscal Year	Units	Persons	Type of Assistance
1968	33	46	Adult Vocational Training
	36	51	Employment
	69	97	Total
1969	35	41	Adult Vocational Training
	28	67	Employment
	53	108	Total

Source: BIA

Not all attempts at relocation are permanent. Persons who return to the reservation bring back with them much experience.

The tribe has also established financial operations to provide income and services for the people. A supermarket, the only Indian Telephone Company in the United States (service for Dewey and Ziebach Counties), the tribal beef herd, a cattle auction sales pavilion, a garage and filling station, and a laundromat are all owned and operated by the tribe. An additional facility owned by the tribe is the Swift Bird Training Center, initially constructed for use as a Job Corps Center, then turned over to the tribe which in turn has contracted with the Scale Institute of Minneapolis for the training of Indians in diesel mechanics and the use of heavy machinery. Training begins late this year.

Stone Craft Industries of Cherry Creek employs several persons in the production of tomahawks, beadwork and the like for sale to tourists.

The stores, shops, cafes, service stations and motels as well as the education facilities all provide jobs. There is virtually no industry in Eagle Butte, however, and few other material production enterprises exist on the reservation. The goal of the Economic Development Administration (EDA) in Eagle Butte, founded in June of 1969, is to bring industry to the reservation and to provide employment. Recently plans for a wood products pre-fabricating plant were approved. Two large all-purpose buildings will be constructed and turned over to the tribe. Some 20 to 25 persons will find employment in the plant. The buildings will be erected in the new industrial park adjacent to Eagle Butte.

A kill-and-chill beef processing plant has been proposed. No final decision has been reached. The location of the plant depends partially on the availability of water. Eagle Butte gets water from a 4,200' deep well. The temperature of the water is around 120° Fahrenheit and has to be cooled before use. It contains a high percentage of minerals, mostly magnesium sulfate. Fluoride content is four times greater than the amount used in artificial fluoridation. This high fluoride content may in time cause mottling of teeth which does not indicate structural deficiencies, but the brownish discoloration can be unattractive. Furthermore, there is a shortage of water in the summer so that watering of lawns has to be restricted. The water utilized in the hospital is purified by means of a DuPont reverse osmosis unit. A similar unit filters about 10 percent of the city's water which is not sufficient, however, to reduce its hardness appreciably. A further consequence of the dissolved minerals in the water could be the calcification of water pipes in the city, necessitating expensive replacement.

Due to the limited quantity of water available, as well as the high degree of dissolved minerals, Eagle Butte does not have one of the requirements for many kinds of industry--great quantities of pure water. In order to overcome this handicap, plans to pipe water from the Oahe Reservoir are being drawn up. Approximately twenty-three miles of pipeline would be required. The difference in elevation between the reservoir and Eagle Butte is 800'. The city's elevation is 2,400 feet above sea level. Estimates of cost for the project are in excess of one million dollars.

Community Action Programs

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided funds for the inception of many CAP programs. CAP is sponsored by the tribe and cooperates with it, but is self-directing. Currently about 200 persons, including six whites, are involved with the programs. Considering the virtual absence of industry, CAP provides employment for a significant number of persons. Its purpose is to take persons off the welfare rolls and to provide employment through training. The budget is in the order of $240,000. Programs are still expanding.

Head Start--The Head Start Program provides pre-school training for four and five year old children on the reservation which includes Dewey and Ziebach counties. 209 children are enrolled. Some children for whom there is no room in kindergarten are sent to Head Start. Eleven teachers, eleven aides and seven cooks provide for their needs. In the last five years many aides have not only been graduated from high school but also have taken college courses through the University of South Dakota and Black Hills State College. Some acquired the necessary 50 credit hours to become teachers. This has allowed them to smoothly move into teaching positions when these were vacated.

Senior Opportunities and Services--This program is designed to improve the standard of living of older people with sub-standard incomes and housing. The homes of the aged were surveyed by aides. Water and wood are hauled for them. 39 men have been assisted in these and other ways.

Consumer Action--This is a credit union with over 550 active members. In addition to providing credit, it offers free counseling for consumers. Consumer Action has been especially helpful in giving credit to teacher's aides for payment of tuition in order to enroll in college courses. It was planned that the cooperative would be self-supporting at the end of its second year of operation (Fall, 1969). This has not been achieved but prospects for self-support are bright in 1970. The following figures from the October 1969 tribal council minutes give an indication of the operation of the program.[1]

New members during August	18
Total membership (inactive accounts closed)	556
Total shares or savings	$16,300.20
Regular reserve	$ 445.54
Special reserve for delinquent loans	$ 576.24
Undivided earnings	$ 00.00
Loans made to date	1,362
Dollar volume of loans made to date	$151,607.17
Number of loans outstanding	151
Dollar value of loans made in August	$12,457.18
Interest earned in 1969	$ 935.98

Operation Mainstream--Financed by the State Labor Department, Operation Mainstream is designed to train persons, mainly men, in work programs of area improvement and beautification. Men learn to operate heavy machinery and gain practical experience in dam repair and the like. For example:

> Green Grass crew are working in their district building a new community hall. Iron Lighting crew is working with Bridger crew around Faith area cleaning parks and lakes for the coming Labor Day weekend. Red Scaffold and Cherry Creek crews are combined and are working in Cherry Creek district tying sewage systems into homes.[2]

Mutual Help Housing--Forty houses have been constructed. The future owners provide a down payment of 600 hours for the interior finishing of the house after the rough carpentry is done. Subsequent payments are based on level of income.

Vista--approximately 10 volunteers serve according to their individual abilities in reservation communities. In October two Vista lawyers arrived. They have been assigned to Legal Services.

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[1] Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council Minutes, Regular Session, October 7, 8, 9, 1969, Eagle Butte, S. D., Mimeo, 1969.

[2] Ibid.

Legal Services--As with all other CAP programs, Legal Services is sponsored by the tribe. It furnishes legal aid through legal interpretation and action, referral to proper agencies for assistance, and education in rights and law to the entire Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. In its first year of operation, 1966, Legal Services handled 700 cases as contrasted with 1,300 cases in 1968. About 40 percent of the cases are criminal in nature, the remaining 60 percent are civil. Between 60 percent and 70 percent of the criminal cases are associated with drunkenness and concern disorderly conduct and assault. The basic documents in administration of the law are the tribal constitution and the tribal code.

The impact of Legal Services has made it possible for someone to plead something besides guilty in tribal court, since previously no counsel was assigned to defendants. Eligibility for legal aid is based on income and residence requirements.

Although the immediate effects of Legal Services could be seen as somewhat unsettling, because inconsistencies between the tribal code and constitution have been pointed out, the long-term results seem to be a strengthening of the tribal judicial system.

The various CAP programs have been enumerated because of the important community services they provide, as well as their being a significant source of income on the reservation.

Social Conditions

Housing

There is a strong trend toward the improvement of living conditions on the reservation. In 1950, 62 percent of the homes were log houses while 28 percent were frame, the remaining 10 percent being tents, shacks, and the like.[1]

In 1958 homes were described as follows:

> Typical dwelling a one-two room frame or log house. Only 18% have electricity, 10% have refrigerators. Water must be hauled more than half a mile at 84% of the homes, generally from contaminated surface sources. Most homes have unapproved-type privies for waste disposal.[2]

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[1]Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians of South Dakota, 1956.

[2]Calvin A. Kent and Jerry W. Johnson, Indian Poverty in South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, Bulletin No. 99, Spring, 1969 by Business Research Bureau.

By 1965 at least the availability of potable water was improved.

> Domestic water for most of the families not included in the Public Law 86-121 projects is obtained from stock ponds, creeks or rivers, springs and wells. Fifty-three percent of the homes still obtain their water from unsatisfactory sources; 84% of the homes dispose of garbage and liquid waste by scattering it around the premises. Seventy-seven percent of the homes do not have satisfactory privies.[1]

One hundred and twenty new homes (Low Rent and Mutual Help) have been built in Eagle Butte since relocation. Transitional homes have been constructed in Cherry Creek, Bear Creek and Thunder Butte, and there has been a consequent upgrading in living facilities. Log houses are extremely rare now on the reservation. Under the guidance of the Public Health Service a little over 50 percent of the homes have been provided with sanitary facilities (water and sewer). Some of the Operation Mainstream crews are being utilized in making the improvements. PHS also drills wells in order to eliminate the use of surface sources of water. Electricity is widely available on the reservation.

Health

For the period of 1954-1957 pneumonia was the disease most frequently reported. Respiratory and digestive diseases and accidents were among the principal causes of hospital admissions at Old Agency. In the three year period of 1966-68 pneumonia was still a problem ranking either third or fourth, with a roughly similar number of cases. Gastroenteritis has dropped from first to second place in 1967-68 with a steady decline in the number of cases. This is very probably due to improved sources of water. Otitis media, (Middle Ear Infection) for which a general predisposition may exist, was the most prevalent disease in 1968 (Tables 2 and 3).

These statistics are revealing indices of health and health-related problems on the reservation. However, the Public Health Service Unit Planning Committee identified the number-one health problem as the difference in value that a majority of the patients place upon health, affecting the prevention of disease, the diagnosis of disease, and the treatment of disease. Motivation and attitudes are regarded as crucial to the improvement of the situation. The existing attitude is probably a mixture of apathy, misunderstanding and misinformation.

In an effort to improve services some of the PHS staff recently attended at least one community meeting asking for suggestions and criticisms. This type of contact should be extremely useful in reducing misunderstanding and motivating people toward greater health consciousness. Furthermore the PHS health educator shows movies to students and persons in the communities.

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[1] Mizen, op. cit., p. 1.

TABLE 2

The Leading Notifiable Diseases in Rank Order for FY 1968

Rank	Disease	Number of Cases
1	Otitis Media	341
2	Gastroenteritis	268
3	Pneumonia excluding newborn	163
4	Streptococcus, sore throat and scarlet fever	162
5	Influenza	123
6	Gonorrhea	51
7	Hepatitis	42
8	Chickenpox	8
9	Tuberculosis New Active Type B	4
10	Dysentery (all forms)	2

Population Estimate: 3,500

Source: U. S. Public Health Service, Cheyenne River Service Unit

TABLE 3

Diagnosis of Hospital Discharges, All Ages, for FY 1968

Rank	Diagnosis	Percent
1	Deliveries and complications of pregnancies	15.3
2	Respiratory system diseases	14.0
3	Accidents, violence and poisoning	12.2
4	Misc. conditions and exams	8.9
5	Digestive system diseases	8.0
6	Supplementary classifications	7.9
7	Skin diseases	5.7
8	Genito-urinary diseases	4.6
9	Allergic, endocrine, metabolic and nutritional diseases	4.5
10	Mental disorders	3.9

Source: U. S. Public Health Service, Cheyenne River Service Unit

The goal of the Public Health Service is to raise the health status to the highest possible level. This is done through a comprehensive health program:

1. Treatment--through the hospital, nurses, etc.

2. Prevention--through nursing, sanitarian, health education, field clinics.

3. Control of Sanitary Environment--through the sanitarian and through sanitary construction projects.

The hospital in Eagle Butte is rated at thirty-three beds and is staffed by four physicians as well as other specialists. About 17,000 to 20,000 outpatient visits a year are handled. The hospital has an average 70 percent occupancy rate. The four outlying clinics are located in Cherry Creek, Red Scaffold, White Horse and LaPlant. They are visited, on the average, twice per month by a physician and nursing personnel. PHS nurses also make routine visits to families in the communities. The sanitarian makes home inspections of sanitary conditions. A major sanitary construction project is under way in Cherry Creek where PHS is installing a sewer system and bringing water to homes which do not already have it. Wells are being drilled, water lines laid, toilets, bathroom and kitchen sinks installed.

Social Services

General relief is not provided by the States for Indians living on trust lands or reservations. Categorical assistance, that is, Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age, Blind and Disabled benefits are administered by the state. State child welfare does not apply since the state has no powers on the reservation for jurisdictional reasons. The counties did provide a food stamp program through the State Department of Welfare but this program was discontinued due to general dissatisfaction. Therefore the surplus commodities program was reinstituted. Last year an average of 384 persons received relief. Rather than being characterized by stable enrollment, the program fluctuates seasonally. In the summer there were only 30-40 cases, as contrasted with 200 cases involving 700 persons in the winter. The commodities program does provide a potentially semi-balanced diet, although the foods are not always used to full advantage. In addition to administering the commodities program, Social Services makes home visits and does counseling. It handles some child welfare cases by placing children in foster homes on the reservation. Also five cases of adoption through state and privately licensed agencies were processed last year.

Recreation

Present opportunities in tourism and recreation are minimal. The Army Corps of Engineers has built a few picnic facilities along the Oahe Reservoir. The Tribal Rodeo Grounds and Dance Grounds in Eagle Butte are the center of rodeos and powwows in the summer. The local motion picture theater shows films on weekends. The two bars, the City Bar and the Legion Club, also provide a change of atmosphere.

There is a small library in Eagle Butte. Several of the clubs in the community are service oriented. The bowling alley provides entertainment and exercise for adults and youths. 4-H clubs operate in a few communities. Boy Scouts also exist. Some of the churches hold dinners and bazaars which are of community-wide interest. School athletic events, especially basketball games, are well-attended. The school auditorium is used by some community organizations for special events. There is also a community hall in Eagle Butte. Plans for a community center to be constructed on the tribal dance grounds have been approved. The building, a truncated teepee with four wings, will have 12,600 square feet of floor space. The cost of the building will be $260,000 most of which will be paid by the Neighborhood Facilities Administration of the Department of Urban Development. The tribe will provide an 'in kind' contribution, mainly in the form of labor. The community center will provide much needed space for civic functions and recreational activities.

EDUCATION

Prior to the move of the Bureau and Tribal Facilities to Eagle Butte in 1959-1960, a study was carried out in order to determine the size of the school facilities that would be required in the new location. The Eagle Butte School had an enrollment of 100 students while Cheyenne Agency housed 300 students. Future enrollment figures projected by the study were considered unreasonably high and the new plant constructed by the Bureau in addition to the old two story school proved inadequate almost from the beginning. The current enrollment is 1,500 students. Plans for a new high school which is to cost close to $3,000,000 are now being drawn up.

Administration

Since 1960 the Bureau and the Independent School District No. 3 have been jointly engaged in the administration and financing of the school. The name Cheyenne-Eagle Butte School demonstrates this cooperative arrangement. The following quotation reflects the operation of the agreement in both theory and practice quite well.

> The District shall expend approximately 75% of all receipts in the operation of the school as agreed upon in the Annual Budget Meeting. The District shall expend its funds directly by employing teachers and other personnel and in buying supplies as agreed in the plans made at the monthly meetings. The District shall expend all general funds, anticipated receipts from taxes, and its current receipts from all other sources in fulfillment of this Agreement and in the operation of additional schools for which the District is responsible.
>
> The Board and BIA shall grant the free use of all school buildings, motor vehicles, major and minor equipment, materials and supplies now in their possession and located in Eagle Butte for the education of all children attending the Cheyenne-Eagle Butte School.[1]

Currently the District has a school budget of some $350,000 while the BIA contributes $1,200,000 to the school's operation.

These figures roughly parallel the proportion of white to Indian students attending the school. Most of the District funds are expended for teacher salaries. Of the 68 persons involved in teaching and its supervision in the school, 32 are employed by the District while 36 are Bureau employees.

There are some parallels in the Bureau and the District, but most administration is handled by the Bureau. The high school recently lost its principal who was promoted to the principalship of a school in Oklahoma. The elementary school is headed by the BIA Teacher Supervisor and the District Superintendent. Although the school leaders do not invariably agree on issues, supervision at the various levels tends to be amiable.

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[1]Cooperative Agreement Cheyenne River Agency and Independent School District No. 3, 1968.

Physical Plant

Facilities are divided between old, modern, and trailer classrooms. Several of the elementary grades are housed in the old Eagle Butte School which is soon to be replaced when a new high school will be built. The rest of the elementary grades as well as all of the high school grades occupy a modern building complex including dormitory facilities constructed in 1960 at the time of relocation from the Cheyenne Agency. Some elementary classes are held in double-width trailers behind the high school. The high school also has a library, gymnasium and an auditorium.

There is a Teachers' room together with a concession stand adjacent to the gymnasium. For the high school students, there is a comfortable lounge next to the library. The library is equipped with old books. There is little Sioux or Indian related material and very few magazines.

Housing for the staff is provided within the BIA compound. Here live the BIA teachers usually. Some BIA teachers as well as some District teachers hired by the public school system live in residential areas in Eagle Butte. Other District teachers live in the country surrounding Eagle Butte.

Teachers

District teachers are hired on a nine-month basis and have a slightly shorter official working day. Bureau teachers are civil servants in year-round employment. Beginning salaries are fairly equal in both systems. Bureau salaries are subject to GS ratings, however, and increase more rapidly than District salaries. When the length of the teaching year and day are considered, the disparity tends to disappear.

More District teachers are employed in the elementary school than in the high school. Since the ratio of District to Bureau teachers is nearly equal, it follows that most of the high school teachers are Bureau employees.

Although it is difficult to generalize it may be said that District teachers tend to be persons from this area of South Dakota while Bureau teachers are brought into the school through recruitment elsewhere.

Teacher turnover is not a grave problem with either the Bureau or the district. Of the three new teachers hired by the Bureau for the 1969-1970 school year, only one was a replacement. The number of certified teachers is quite high. Because of the low teacher turnover rate few emergency certificates have to be issued. There is little informal contact between the teachers of different ethnic groups. Some of the Indian and white teachers bowl together. Teacher involvement in the community is slight.

Salary levels were never discussed in a manner indicating dissatisfaction. Bureau teachers seem to have as their reference group other Bureau employees. For most of them the Bureau is a career and there is considerable concern with

promotion and GS ratings. The District teachers tend to be long-time residents of the area and thus "know all about Indians."

Most of the teachers feel that the Indian student needs discipline, since they believe he does not have suitable guidelines of behavior at home. However, in interviewing teachers a usual response was for them to say that they did not discriminate. This implies that the Indians are no different and that they, therefore, need not be treated differently. If it is remembered that most whites in Eagle Butte are exposed to Indian behavior which they interpret as negative, the view that the entire Indian way of life is unattractive and should therefore be supplanted by the white way tends to be reinforced.

Students

The vast majority of the 1500 students in the schools at Eagle Butte are from the reservation. The only Indian language spoken is Lakota but only by a small percentage of the students. There are no longer restrictions against the speaking of Lakota (a condition prevalent in the past) but most children now do not know the Indian language.

Eagle Butte Indian students (constituting about 75 percent of the high school students) elected a full-blood homecoming king and queen this year. There are no overt signs of discontent such as damage to the building. Students were proud of a student lounge conducted on a student honor system. The drop-out rate, however, is high.

Curriculum

The school is accredited by the South Dakota Department of Education. The curriculum is the same used in public schools throughout the state and is not Indian oriented. The only exception is an Indian Acculturational psychology course. The Indian teacher giving this course also stated that Indian Language, Indian Arts and Crafts and an additional Indian course have been authorized. The high school government classes do not include tribal government, nor does American History deal particularly with the Sioux.

Relations with Parents and Community

The local residents of Eagle Butte are not actively involved in the administration of the school. The District does have a school board which meets monthly. Some of the members are Indians and are local business men. In the 1969 school board election no candidates opposed the incumbents. There is a tribal education committee but it is oriented more toward regional and national meetings than the problems at hand. This year advisory school boards have been started in some of the outlying BIA schools and seem to function reasonably well. One of these boards aids in insuring regular attendance of students. PTA meetings are not ordinarily well attended.

The District Superintendent has a 10 to 15 minute radio program weekdays which reminds of upcoming school and community events as well as being of great informative value to the area.

Parents are more likely to attend teacher-parent conferences concerning their elementary children. There is little participation in the high school program. Many parents do come to athletic events, particularly basketball games.

Three years ago a parent-teacher conference program was initiated in the BIA elementary school. Responses were very positive. For the first set of conferences held at the end of the first nine-week period, the overall turnout rate was over 60 percent. The lowest percentage, 50 percent, applied to parents of bussed Indian students. No comparable program is in effect in the high school.

Adult Education

Tribal law states that youth must attend school until they are eighteen years old. It is at this age that many Sioux become eligible to receive the Sioux Benefit.

When the Sioux in 1889 ceded extensive tracts of the Great Sioux Reservation to the government for homesteading by settlers, it was agreed that:

> each head of a family or single person over the age of eighteen years who has an allotment of land will receive certain farming implements and oxen for agricultural purposes, plus $50 in cash for construction of a house and other buildings suitable for residence or for improvement of their allotments.[1]

The agreement was upheld by the Act of June 18, 1934 which gave the recipient a choice of selecting the items listed above or their equivalent cash value. The allocation of the cash was supervised by the Bureau. Since 1951 recipients have been given the cash directly without being required to invest it for any specific purpose such as education, livestock, farming equipment or a business as had been the case until then. Due to inflation the size of the Sioux Benefit has been increased repeatedly. It now amounts to almost $1,300. Last year approximately $154,000 was paid out in this way.

The pattern of spending this money seems to be based on the principle of reciprocity. In most cases the money is freely shared with relatives and friends and is gone in a short period of time. Due to the Benefit recipient's generosity he becomes eligible to receive some of the money when younger friends and relatives receive their Benefit. This reciprocity, based on generosity, assures anyone who shares his money freely of future financial support as long as the Benefit continues to be paid. Even if it were to be discontinued others would be indebted to him.

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[1] Henry Balliet, The Sioux Benefit and Its Effect on the Education and Future of the Sioux Youth, mimeo, 1954 (Reissued: Cheyenne-Eagle Butte School, 1969,) p. 2.

In 1954, Balliet[1] interviewed 87 recipients of the Benefit. He found that 25 of the 87, or approximately 29 percent discontinued school after receipt of the money. Although it is difficult to determine the adequacy of his method, the results should be roughly valid. It appears that the payment acts as an incentive for a certain number of students to discontinue school. The fact that the students are no longer compelled to attend school after 18 years of age seems to be of relatively little import. The Benefit, not tribal law, was given as the reason for dropping out of school. These statistics are not necessarily representative today.

However, it is clear that the tribe and school authorities encourage and enforce the school attendance law. The effect is noticeable in the relatively large numbers of those enrolling in adult education classes. The mathematics level is almost never under the fifth grade. The English level is approximately that of the fifth grade. Initial reading levels fall into the sixth to seventh grade range.

Adult Basic Education goes to the eighth grade and concentrates on fundamental skills (reading, writing, arithmetic). It also provides the participating adults the opportunity to aid local school children through making children's clothes, etc. Programs exist currently in Eagle Butte, La Plante, Red Scaffold and Cherry Creek. The Graduate Equivalency Degree (GED) Program is sponsored by the district and tribe. It started operation in July 1968 and has had excellent success. Ninety-eight persons have passed the examination and received their high school equivalency diplomas.

Trends

The schools include teachers and administrators some of whom are resistant to innovation, others who are enthusiastic about new programs. On the elementary level, Project Necessities is currently being given a try by two outside specialists. In the high school an auto mechanics course was introduced a few years ago. This year, for the first time, Indian Acculturation Psychology (developed by Dr. Bryde) is being taught in the high school as an elective. An Indian Club, with membership restricted to Indians, was started by students several years ago.

This year, for the first time, ungraded evaluation criteria are being used in some of the elementary school grades as indices of student performance.

One of the main trends is toward the consolidation of outlying schools. Paved roads are currently being constructed which will allow the bussing of students from some of the smaller schools to more centrally located facilities.

There is a trend toward improving and expanding educational facilities in Eagle Butte, as is evidenced by the plans for the new high school

The inclusion of Indian Acculturational Psychology in the curriculum, as well as the granting of permission for more programs of this kind indicate that Bureau policy, which for a number of years has officially stated that Indian history, culture, and language would (or should) be taught, is being applied at Eagle Butte.

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[1] Henry Balliet, The Sioux Benefit and Its Effect on the Education and Future of the Sioux Youth, mimeo, 1954 (Reissued: Cheyenne-Eagle Butte School, 1969), p. 7.

APPENDIX

CHEYENNE RIVER INDIAN RESERVATION

COMMUNITY POPULATIONS

April 1969[1]

For statistical purposes, a community was defined as an area with a one-half mile radius from the center of the community.

COMMUNITY	INDIAN POPULATION	NON-INDIAN POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION
EAGLE BUTTE	864	744	1608
CHERRY CREEK	347	12	359
DUPREE	158	440	598
BRIDGER	152	5	157
RED SCAFFOLD	121	5	126
THUNDER BUTTE	102	1	103
GLAD VALLEY	4	8	12
IRON LIGHTNING	50	1	51
WHITE HORSE	158	2	160
RIDGEVIEW	110	120	230
LA PLANTE	189	3	192
MARKSVILLE	110	0	110
PROMISE	44	2	46
BEAR CREEK	156	0	156
LANTRY	8	47	55
GREEN GRASS	74	0	74
RED ELM	0	8	8
TIMBERLAKE	64	316	380
TRAIL CITY	6	35	41
ISABEL	51	439	490
FIRESTEEL	11	46	57
TOTAL COMMUNITY DWELLERS	2779	2234	5013
TOTAL RESERVATION POPULATION DEWEY AND ZIEBACH COUNTIES	4171	3929	8100
FAITH (1-1½ miles west of reservation (MEADE COUNTY)	30	744	774

[1]Source: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Cheyenne River Headquarters.

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